



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 104<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 141

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 1995

No. 55

## Senate

(Legislative day of Thursday, March 23, 1995)

The Senate met at 9:45 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND.]

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend John Lloyd Ogilvie, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:

Almighty God, Sovereign of this Nation and gracious Father of our lives, You have placed a homing spirit within us and made our hearts restless until they rest in You. The heart of the matter always is the heart. Our hearts are lonely until they return and find their home in You. You receive us as we are with unqualified grace. Thank You, Father, for the strength, security, and serenity You provide us in the midst of strain and stress. You offer us perfect peace in the midst of pressure and the tyranny of the urgent.

We also thank You that we find each other as we return to You. You give us the miracle of unity in diversity, oneness in spite of our differences. You hold us together when otherwise ideas, policies, and resolutions would divide us. Make us sensitive to one another, especially when a vote makes conspicuous our differences. Help us to reach out to each other to affirm that we are one in the calling to lead our Nation. May we neither savor our victories or nurse our disappointments, but press on.

So we fall on the knees of our hearts seeking Your blessing for our work this day. To know You is our greatest privilege and to grow in our knowledge of Your will is our most urgent need. Our strength is insufficient; bless us with Your wisdom. Our vision is incomplete; bless us with Your hope. Carpe diem. We grasp the day. In Your holy name, Yahweh, through Christ, our Lord. Amen.

### RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized.

#### SCHEDULE

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, this morning, leader time has been reserved, and there will be a period for morning business until the hour of 10 a.m. At the hour of 10 a.m., the Senate will begin consideration of H.R. 831, the self-employed health insurance deduction bill. That bill will be considered under a 5-hour time limitation which was agreed upon last evening.

The majority leader has announced that there will be no rollcall votes during today's session of the Senate. Senator DOLE has also indicated that it will be his intention to proceed to the regulation moratorium bill on Monday. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). Under the previous order, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. McCAIN] is recognized to speak for up to 15 minutes.

The distinguished Senator from Arizona.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I expect to be joined in a few minutes by my friend and colleague from the other side of the aisle, Senator KERREY of Nebraska. We may engage in a brief colloquy after our remarks. But I will begin with my remarks.

### CIVILITY IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, there has been considerable media discussion lately about the decline of civility in our public discourse. I agree that political rhetoric often seems quite harsh these days. I have also observed that the people who report on politicians, and who are often among the first to decry the incivility of politics, seem more inclined lately to allow their reporting to cross from tough to cruel.

That said, I cannot claim with certainty that manners in either politics or the press have truly degenerated to new lows. I suspect that every American generation in our history has had occasion to be repulsed by unnecessarily mean attacks from within and upon politics that are unavoidable in a free society. Political cartoonists, for instance, have throughout our history spared few public figures from ridicule. Often the ridicule is earned. Sometimes it is not. Sometimes even the license given cartoonists cannot excuse an especially malignant attack.

Such was the case last Sunday when Mr. Garry Trudeau decided to use his comic strip to scorn the military service of the majority leader, Senator DOLE.

The author of the comic strip "Doonesbury," Mr. Trudeau has made it his business to lampoon not only Republicans, but anyone whose devotion to the looniest of left wing causes he suspects is less robust than his own. His increasingly strident attacks have forsaken whatever humor might have once distinguished his cartoons from the silly rantings of your garden variety conspiracy theorist. Even former admirers of his comic strip tell me that he has become decidedly unfunny in recent years.

For this singular contribution to American culture, Mr. Trudeau feels he should be permitted to dispense with the encumbrances of good manners. Apparently, artists of his caliber cannot be burdened by the bonds that hold most of us together in our disparate society—bonds like honor and respect.

Ordinary Americans, of course, feel it appropriate to show gratitude to Americans who have ransomed their life to the defense of their freedom. Ordinary Americans would recoil from the suggestion that there is humor in ridiculing the sacrifice borne by an American

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



Printed on recycled paper.

S4527

who took up arms to defend them, and sustained grave injury in that cause.

Ordinary Americans, Mr. President, would honor a service rendered to them at such great cost.

But not Mr. Trudeau. His is far too important a calling for it to be constrained by humility, gratitude, or ordinary good taste. I do not want to dwell too much on Mr. Trudeau. He is not really worth the ink used to ridicule him. Suffice it to say that I hold him in utter contempt. I hold him in contempt for his small heart, for the cruelty he inflicts on others to obscure the weaknesses in his own character, and for his immense ingratitude to those who have had the strength of character to protect Mr. Trudeau's right to pollute—for profit, of course—political debate in America.

I would rather talk a little bit about BOB DOLE. Anyone who has read Richard Ben Kramer's book, "What It Takes," knows what kind of man is BOB DOLE. He answered his country's call to take up arms in a war for the future of the world. He helped save that world. Of course, he did so in a time when even political cartoonists believed such service to be honorable.

As a proud young man of great promise and an excellent athlete, BOB DOLE went to Italy. Like others of his generation, he paid a dear price for his love of country. He was gravely wounded. That he recovered at all from that wound is testament to the extraordinary courage that defines BOB DOLE, and that sets him apart from others.

BOB DOLE bears the discomfort and the challenge of that wound today, 50 years after he sustained it. He bears it with a quiet dignity that is—in every respect—worthy of our utmost admiration. I have known him for a long time now. I have never—never—heard him complain about his injury even though I know not a waking hour passes when he does not feel that pain. Neither have I ever heard him use his injury for political advantage, although he is—as he should be—proud of his service. Most people—indeed, almost everyone save Mr. Trudeau—is proud of him for his service and for the dignity with which he has accepted its consequences.

The problem for Mr. Trudeau, I suspect, is that he has never done anything for which he can be proud and therefore cannot understand how other people could take pride in the moment when they answered their country's call.

Mr. President, I am the son and grandson of admirals. Military service has been my family's business since the American Revolution. I have thus been blessed to have spent much time in the company of heroes. I know what they look like. I know how they act. BOB DOLE is the genuine article. Duty and honor are not relative concepts to him. They are absolute standards. Thank God, ours is still a country that knows the worth of such men even if the odd cartoonist does not.

Mr. President, I have a hard time maintaining self-restraint when I con-

template the injustice of Mr. Trudeau's disrespect for the brave service of a young man who left his family and friends in a small town in Kansas to defend his country's interests on foreign soil, and who as a consequence of his courage helped make the world safe—even for cartoonists.

It is a pity Mr. Trudeau never bothered to wear the uniform of his country. The experience would have no doubt improved his manners. Since little is likely to improve the poverty of his manners now, perhaps he could just limit his cartoon to a subject better matched to his skills and his character—perhaps the O.J. trial. At a minimum, if Mr. Trudeau cannot find it in himself to honor the service of people like BOB DOLE, I would hope he could just remain silent. I think he will find that fewer and fewer people are listening anyway.

Mr. President, I would like to yield at this time to the Senator from Nebraska and possibly at the end engage in a short discourse with the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. KERREY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I must state at the beginning I normally read, when I have the opportunity, Mr. Trudeau's comics or cartoons and find much humor in them. In this one, however, not only did I find no humor but I found in it great sadness and much in fact to be ridiculed.

First, let me say that I have only on a number of relatively small occasions been moved by the words of another politician. I say that straight out. I sometimes say that I was moved. But it is rarely the case where I am genuinely and deeply moved.

One such occasion was in, I believe, 1988 when—it might have been 1987—Senator DOLE announced his intent to run for the Presidency in Russell, KS. I watched him on television and watched him recollect his homecoming to Russell, KS, and the kindness that was expressed by the people of Russell, KS, to him, and he could not go on.

Now, this is a man whose persona is, to say the least, a tough persona. This is a man, as the Senator from Arizona has just said, who never complains about his injury. At least he has not complained to me, he has not complained in my presence, and he has not complained in the presence of anybody that I know. This is a man who does not talk about his injuries and does not talk about his injuries easily when he does.

For the cartoonist to portray Mr. DOLE as sort of playing upon his war wound is a lie on its face. It does not happen. Quite the contrary, Mr. President. Senator DOLE, as I indicated, feels great warmth and is moved by people who saved his life. I have heard Senator DOLE talk about the people who restored his life and put his life back together.

On a second occasion when I was moved—I must say I find it odd that

Senator DOLE, who is supposed to be one of the meanest guys in politics today—that is his reputation anyway—has on two occasions moved me so deeply.

The second one was I believe the Larry King interview, or it might have been—it was not Larry King. It was one of the other journalists who was interviewing Senator DOLE at length, and he began to talk about his father coming to visit him while he was in the hospital.

On many occasions when asked how is it that I could admire BOB DOLE, since he is the Republican leader and I am a proud member of the Democratic party, how is it that I could admire BOB DOLE and like BOB DOLE, my answer almost always begins with a declaration that this man loves his country and is a patriot.

It guides him, in the end, to make decisions that sometimes are not in his best political interest. He did not serve in World War II as a consequence of calculating what was going to be in his best interest. It did not turn out to be in his best physical interest.

He started to describe this moment when his father came to see him and described the swollen ankles of his father. He, once again, could not go on. He was moved, not by his own suffering, Mr. President, not by his wound.

He did not go before this journalist, he did not stand before an audience in Russell, KS, and say, "Pity me for this wound." Quite the contrary. What he did on both occasions was say, to a certain extent: Pity the audience. My sympathy goes to them. My appreciation goes to them. My respect and admiration go to them for what they did for me.

I have great personal respect for Senator DOLE and admiration for his patriotism. And, above all of the things, his ability to put his life back together, his capacity to put his life back together, I admire deeply.

He has never worn his war record or his injuries in front of the public as if it was some sort of badge of honor. I have never heard him talk about, never heard him express that. Quite the contrary.

So I, like the Senator from Arizona, am deeply offended by this cartoon. It says something about Americans who served that is reprehensible. And it says something about a great American patriot that is particularly reprehensible.

Very often those of us who have been wounded are described that way. "BOB KERREY, wounded in the war in Vietnam." I do not ask to be described that way, but that is how it occurs. We are described that way.

And in today's modern journalism, the way things get beat around electronically, very often that comes back and somebody says, "Well, I saw you

made a statement that says you were wounded in the war." I did not make a statement. And Senator DOLE does not talk about his injuries, but he gets labeled with it.

Unfortunately, today, in modern politics, the tendency is to look for the worst. And in Senator DOLE, not only do we not have the worst, we have the best impulses of human beings and of Americans—an American who was willing to serve and willing to come back and not with bitterness say, "You owe me," but an American who was willing to come back and say, "The debt is still on my side. I feel compassion to those in Russell, KS, who welcomed me home. I feel compassion and respect for my father, who did the same. I feel compassion and respect for all Americans who continue to try to struggle not just with their lives but to overcome adversity, as well."

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

I would be pleased to engage in a colloquy with my friend from Arizona.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I just want to thank my friend from Nebraska for stepping forward.

We cannot do anything about someone like Mr. Trudeau, but we intend to try.

I do believe that when something as egregious and outrageous as this is—and, frankly, Senator DOLE would not like to hear me say this—but it has to hurt when one's service and sacrifice to one's country is demeaned and denigrated in this fashion.

I am grateful that someone like Senator KERREY would step forward and condemn it. I do not know if it stops this kind of thing. I do not know what beneficial effect it has. But I do know this: For Senator KERREY and me to remain silent in the face of this outrage would be a dereliction of duty on our part, if I may use a phrase from our previous incarnation.

So I want to thank Senator KERREY for saying this.

I do not intend to belabor the point, and I know Senator KERREY does not, but I hope the American people know—and especially BOB DOLE knows—that the cynicism and sarcasm of Mr. Trudeau is not shared by the overwhelming majority of the American people.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, if I could add one additional thing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, the public should not view this as a couple of old veterans wandering down here to the floor to defend another old veteran that got beat up by a cartoonist.

Senator DOLE has the capacity to make fun of himself, as I do and as does the Senator from Arizona. This is not saying our skin is so thin we cannot take a cartoonist's deprecating comments about us. Lord knows, it happens all the time. It is hard to pick up an account of something you have said or done and not find something being said in a deprecating fashion. I do not

mind that at all. I do not object to any cartoonist or journalist that wants to take some foible of mine, a weakness of mine, and magnify it and have some fun with it.

But that is not what is occurring in this case. There is a deep offense given, as a consequence, to isolating something that, in fact, does not occur. Senator DOLE does not wear his wound out in front of the public. He does not try to use it to gain some kind of advantage. Quite the contrary is the case.

I am here this morning to say that I admire that. Indeed, beyond admiring it, I believe that it is sort of something that Americans need to emulate—to emulate a man who says, "I may be suffering, but my concern is for my friends and neighbors who welcomed me home. My concern is with my father who made a trip to Chicago to visit me. My concern is still with others who are struggling in their lives."

I yield the floor.

Mr. McCAIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I see the managers are waiting. I would like to make one additional comment on a different subject.

#### THE LINE-ITEM VETO

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, last night we passed in the Senate something that I have been working on for 10 years. I know that everyone is aware that it did not happen because of the efforts only of Senator COATS and myself.

We are very grateful for the help and efforts that Senator DOLE engaged in in bringing together enough of us that it was an overwhelming victory. Senator DOMENICI and Senator STEVENS were very instrumental in that.

And, of course, we respected very much the participation of Senator BYRD. I think years from now when people read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the debate that was conducted, I think they will be illuminated by his remarks.

Also, Senator EXON, the manager on the other side of the bill, and Senator LEVIN, whose amendment I think was extremely helpful.

Sheila Burke spent many, many hours in meetings in an effort to bring Republicans together on this issue. Sharon Soderstrom, the able assistant of Senator COATS, and Megan Gilly did an outstanding job; David Crane, Bill Hoagland, Dave Hoppe, Eric Ueland, Joe Donoghue, and Mark Buse.

So I would like to thank all of them for their enormous assistance, not only in recent weeks but in recent years, in helping us achieve what I think is one of the most important changes in the way that this country does business since 1974, when the Budget and Impoundment Act was passed.

I thank my colleagues for their patience.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

#### SANBORNTON MAN CROSSES REMAGEN BRIDGE IN WORLD WAR II

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Guy J. Giunta, Sr., a resident of Sanbornton, NH, who played a significant role in the infamous capture by the Americans of the bridge at Remagen during World War II. This offensive resulted in shortening the war and saving thousands of lives.

Guy was a private first class in the 78th Infantry Division. He was one of the American soldiers who crossed the bridge at Remagen over the Rhine River, 50 years ago this month. This battle illustrated the American military strength which caught the Germans by surprise. The events of March 7, 1945, were known as the "Miracle of Remagen."

Guy left his native Italy for the United States in 1927 where he worked as a machinist making parts for turbines for the U.S. Navy when the war broke out. Deferments as an essential worker kept him out of the war until 1943, but after learning of friends dying overseas, he enlisted in a war that included his birthland.

When soldiers reached a plateau above Remagen on March 7, they saw German troops and civilians retreating across the Ludendorff Bridge. Violating instructions to proceed down the Rhine, Gen. William M. Hoge ordered his men to take the bridge. After refusing, the men heard a "whoosh" as 660 pounds of dynamite lifted the bridge from its stone piers.

There was still shooting as soldiers fought their way up the big cliff on the eastern end of the bridge. Twenty-four Americans died on or around the bridge. Guy Giunta was one the 600 brave men who were involved in taking the bridge, including 200 engineers who cut wires to the unexploded dynamite. Guy's medals from the war include three major battle stars: the Ardennse, the Rhineland, and Central Europe.

Guy Giunta is a retired Westinghouse machinist. His wife, Rina Passi, also a native Italian, didn't meet her future husband until after the war, but knew of him because she translated his mother's letters to him from Italian into English. They have lived in a white farmhouse in Sanbornton since 1985.

I commend Guy for sharing his experiences at this important World War II battle with many in New Hampshire. His courage and patriotism are an inspiration to us all. It is an honor to represent Guy Giunta, Sr., and his family in the U.S. Senate.

#### TRIBUTE TO DICK REINERS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, today I want to take a moment to commemorate the long and distinguished life of my dear friend, Richard H. Reinners, an